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### Patriotism as dominant factor for consolidation and development of society: contemporary Ukrainian context

*Appeals to patriotism are attributed primarily to periods of dynamic and fundamental modifications of priorities for development of the society, when a comprehensive assessment of opportunities is necessary to proceed with development of the society. The article analyzes meaning and main features of patriotism; defines specific features and importance of patriotism in consolidation and development of the society. Special attention is given to its functions and circumstances. Also the article considers the substance of separatism; substantiates urgent requirements to develop without delay a new concept on «patriotism upsurge», as well as policies and programs for its embodiment in the Ukrainian realities. The study allows to conclude that particularly patriotism «forms the individual» of new formation.*

**Keywords:** patriotism, individual, functions and criteria of patriotism, society, separatism, new patriotism concept.

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### Патриотизм как доминирующая сила консолидации и развития общества: современный украинский контекст

*Обращение к патриотизму присуще, прежде всего, периодам динамичных и кардинальных модификаций приоритетов в развитии общества, когда необходимой является всесторонняя оценка возможностей прогресса социума. В статье анализируются смысл и основные черты патриотизма. Определяются особенности и значение его в консолидации и развитии общества. Акцентируется внимание на его функциях и условиях. Выясняется суть сепаратизма. Обосновывается безотлагательная потребность разработки новой концепции «повышения патриотизма», стратегии и программы воплощения ее в украинских реалиях. Исследование позволяет сделать вывод, что именно патриотизм «производит человека» новой формации.*

**Ключевые слова:** патриотизм, личность, функции и критерии патриотизма, общество, сепаратизм, новая концепция патриотизма.

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### THE MARKING OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN STATE HOLYDAYS OF SLOVENIA AND UKRAINE: THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

*The article provides historical and cultural overview of the formation the state holidays of Ukrainians and Slovenians 1991 – 2015 to compare the basic components of the time–space national holidays in terms the concept of «independence – unity». The methodological basis of the paper is seen as the concept of national identity and cultural approach to the analysis of the temporal–spatial phenomenon of a «state–of–society».*

*The comparative analysis of the state holidays of Slovenia and Ukraine is based on the decomposition of: 1) those that reproduce the remembrance of gained independence and sovereignty; 2) those that emphasize the value of unity; 3) those that preserve the nations' cultural core. The differences in the historical transformation of the two countries described focusing on the presentation of their national and cultural identity in the state holidays calendar. It is provided that the state holidays calendar, as a special cultural form, is an important factor for a nation–state's well–being.*

**Keywords:** nation identity, state holiday, culture, unity, commemoration.

(стаття друкується мовою оригіналу)

**Introduction.** Over the past 25 years, European countries have been involved in the processes of nation–state–building. The post–communist countries have transformed their political, socio–economic, and cultural spaces. Nowadays differences in nation–building achievements among the post–communist countries are noted. It has led to discussions regarding cultural features of national identity, which have influenced state building. It has been found that the national identity factors are determine the capacity of state building in the sense of maintaining state–society relations [14]. Culture as «silent codes» [22, p. 3] of human development refers to the universal human ability to classify, codify, and transfer knowledge and experiences symbolically and intergenerationally. In particular, societies and states create and maintain distinct ways of structuring day–to–day life, including through national holydays.

National holidays usually have quite distinct meaning, defined as the process of encouraging a sense of national identity within a given group of people. State–building process requires public holidays, which are of peculiar national character and the consolidation of people and make a viable state in the long term. According to the democratic doctrine of nationhood, the patriotic ethos has to be relevant in every important area of life. The moral values found in national holidays are freedom, justice, and democracy [16, p. 169]. In such case, national holydays provide inherent manifestation of the cultural logic. If a national holyday can become uniquely associated with democracy value spectrum, it will be the factor giving an institution stability and form within a state building.

In this regard, comparative analysis of national holidays in the European post–Soviet countries is of great interest. In particular, Slovenia and Ukraine have had similar «starting points» of its independence as the exit from Soviet states – Yugoslavia and USSR. Whereas the progress of state–nation–building depends on «mentality environment» or mental framework resulting from the values, symbols and social ideals shared by the members of a community, it is necessary to explore the features of national holidays «mental matrix» of these countries. It is important to evaluate those cultural

configurations of national holidays that may contribute to the political, economic and social growth of countries.

The discourse of state holidays in the philosophy of nation building has gained significance not only on the theoretical–methodological level, but also **in connection with an important practical task**. There is a need to change the list of state holidays for the formation of Ukrainian national narrative [1; 3], because they have to influence nation consolidating processes. That is why the experience of nations that had the post–Soviet past and at the same time were able to create nation–sensitive frameworks for state holidays, Slovenia being among them, should be investigated.

#### **Literature review introducing theoretical frameworks.**

The analysis of recent researches and publications has shown that the idea of cultural aspects' determining role for a country's progress is not a recent one. The necessity of philosophical understanding of the role of culture in nation–building is also proved by the existence of plurality of cultural types in national cultural and political space. Joel Migdal as the author the «state–in–society» approach [14] points to the largely forgotten fact that the state does not exist outside or above society, but that it is a part of society, and that these two institutions constantly influence and reshape one another. The political analyst in the field of theoretical and comparative politics, Gabriel Almond, has illustrated the relationship between the political orientations of citizens and functioning of the political system [4].

Researchers, in particular Edward Weisband and Courtney I. P. Thomas, assured that a successful nation–building process produces cultural projection of a nation containing a certain set of assumptions, values and beliefs which can function as the legitimizing foundation of a state structure [22, p. 13–15]. Daniel A. Greenberg has formulated opinions according to which socio–cultural and behavioral factors have a decisive importance in the processes of national development [11; 12]. He notes that culture can be regarded as a factor that generates state development under such aspect as a component of the environment where political agents carry out their activity. Marc Ross is a supporter of the idea that cultural frames are the rules that can guide political action even in the absence of strong institutions to enforce them [17]. Cultural system establishes collective meaning and identity for all members of society [5, p. 586].

In general, the interest to the study of the influence of some cultural factors belonging to the national–building system has been present in the works of many foreign researchers, the phenomenon of political culture being in the spotlight. Viktor Roudometof has noticed that national holidays refer to the ideas, beliefs, values, traditions, and practices that provide the foundation of a political culture [18, p. 10]. He believes that through national holidays collective memory is standardized and reproduced. They have to follow a particular cultural logic inherent in national building [18, p. 6–8].

Authors note the influence of constructing a national identity on nation–building, but a state holidays factor is poorly investigated. The transforming of national holidays of West and South Slavic nation–states during a period when the meaning of the political community in each country came under severe scrutiny: the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the breakdown of the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav federations into nation–states has been investigated [20]. The examples show the discursive construction of national identities of Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Macedonia,

Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Bosnia–Herzegovina, Croatia and Poland. There is thus the potential for tightly–drawn comparisons between the national identity discourses of these nation–states. At the same time, the discourse of Slovenian national holidays is not presented. The analysis of recent researches and publications has also shown that in Ukrainian humanistic science the applied comparative focus is scarcely represented.

**The purpose** of this paper is comparative interpreting of cultural frameworks of Slovenian and Ukrainian national holidays.

Achieving this objective presupposes fulfilling the following **tasks**:

- to analyze the features of national holidays formed within the past twenty five years in the two post–soviet countries (Slovenia and Ukraine), in terms of cultural memory concept;

- to compare the transformations national holidays which took place within the time–space «independence» of Slovenia and Ukraine from the position of identity discourse.

**Main content.** Each nation state possesses its own sets of national holidays that have some features of self–identification and of political culture. The political culture refers to the consideration of cultural values, meanings. It is important from the perspective of first, internally relative to governing domestic society; second, internationally in terms of their rights to act as a sovereign agent among other sovereign entities in the international society of national states.

The contemporary methodological approaches of the understanding specific Slovenian and Ukrainian holiday's scope are within the field of discourse analysis diverse. This paper provides comparative discourse analysis, focuses on the strategies of legitimization, emphasizes the semiotics of collective memory, and the significance of «underlying events» [20, p. 26] – from the moment in the past that a holiday commemorates to the discourses that emerge around national days. Annual commemorative holidays are a distinctive form of national symbol. Like flags, anthems, monuments and museums, they belong to a set of techniques that communicate the unique past of a nation and demonstrate that the people is a nation. The national holiday is brought to life through human interaction, and therefore through discourse.

Slovenian and Ukrainian Independence Days demonstrate the «point of moving» from the socialist existing in the multi–ethnic states in Europe (USSR, Yugoslavia) to democracy self–development two nations. These Days remind of the important political events of the adoption documents about the independence. Two important political events in 1990 demonstrated the devotedness of the peoples to the idea of national sovereignty. Firstly, it was proclamation of sovereignty of Ukraine on July 16, 1990, secondly, it was the officially proclaimed the results of the Slovenian independence referendum (*Plebiscito samostojnosti Slovenije*) on 26 December 1990.

Independence Day was celebrated in Ukraine on July 16, 1991, as the first anniversary of the Declaration of state sovereignty passed by the Verkhovna Rada (Ukraine's parliament). However, the landmark events happened in Ukraine in the same year. «The Act of declaration of independence of Ukraine» was adopted by the Ukrainian parliament on August 24 1991 in the aftermath of the coup attempt on August 19, 1991 when conservative communist leaders of the Soviet Union tried to restore central communist

party control over the USSR. Accordingly, the date of the Ukraine Independence Day was subsequently changed for 24 August.

Slovenian national memory culture of gaining freedom, in contrast to the Ukrainian one, has two celebratory discourses: Independence Day (*Dan samostojnosti*) and Statehood Day (*Dan državnosti*). The second national holiday saves the memory about the events of June, 25 1991, when by the decision of the Slovenian plebiscite, the Declaration of Independence (*Deklaracija o neodvisnosti Slovenije*) and the basic constitutional charter of the independence and sovereignty of Slovenia (*O samostojnosti in neodvisnosti Slovenije*) was adopted. The Statehood Day celebrated in honor of the declaration of Slovenian independence from Yugoslavia, and [21] also highlighted the first time in the history, when they got their own country [10].

Speaking about the importance of markers of these events for nation building identity it is necessary to distinguish the particular values and meanings, which arise during the historical development of a political culture. In this case, it is the phenomenon of unity. More than 90% of the Slovenian and Ukrainian electorate voted for sovereignty and independence of their republics. It should be emphasized that Slovenian Independence Day has been transformed by adding discourse «unity» in 2005. Remembering and rethinking practices were carry out in order to emphasize the national consensus of the 1990 referendum, which was supported by all political parties represented in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia at the time. A consequence of such transformation, the memory of these historic events has been marked as «Independence and Unity Day» (*Dan samostojnosti in enotnosti*) since 2005.

From the historic–philosophical point of view, it should be noted that forming of Slovenes and Ukrainians calendar of public holidays takes into account the idea of sovereignty. It is generally known that the concept of state sovereignty contains four aspects consisting of territory, population, authority and recognition [19, p. 14]. At the same time, a state sovereignty could be presented in different contents:

- domestic sovereignty – actual control over a state exercised by an authority organized within this state,
- interdependence sovereignty – actual control of movement across state's borders, assuming the borders exist,
- international legal sovereignty – formal recognition by other sovereign states.

Withal modern state system is not based on some timeless principle of sovereignty, but on the production of a normative conception which links authority, territory, population (society, nation), and recognition in a unique way, and in a particular place (the state) [8].

State building of Slovenia and Ukraine demonstrates the specificity of their ways, as well as the forms of the embodiment of sovereignty. Two nations have their historical examples of state building, which are reflected in their discourses of national holidays. Thus the emergence of the Constitution Day in Ukraine in 1996 has become a marker of extremely difficult legislative process and expression of sovereignty in general. A famous fact is that Slovenia's Constitution was proclaimed on December, 23 1991, whereas Ukraine was the last of the former Soviet republics to adopt a new constitution. The state basic law was adopted only in the fifth year of functioning the state (June, 27 1996). Communists have long hampered the constitutional process, offering their own draft

of the constitution, the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Adoption of the Ukraine's Constitution in 1996 is established the legal foundations of the independent state, its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and it has been an important step in national building. Therefore, it is logical for the allocation of constitutional discourse in space of Ukrainian national holiday to appear.

«Constitution Day» is the only public holiday, enshrined in the Ukraine Constitution. It is marked important process «by having a substantial bearing on both state– and nation–building, constitutional politics can contribute to both while establishing a more democratic state. Constitution–making offers the possibility to influence a nation building process towards establishing a set of ideas, values, and institutions as a part of the collective, national identity» [5, p. 596].

It should be noted the state building of the two countries had significant differences. The historical and political transformations of the Slovenian nation were happening in a specific logical political sequence. Ukrainian state building demonstrates nonlinear, zig–zagging by definition Bogdan Nahaylo [15, p. 332], dynamic with a significant lag in the state development.

In Slovenia historical trajectory state building may single out such key sovereign points as «*samostojnost*» (domestic sovereignty) – «*državnost*» (international legal sovereignty) – «*suverenost*» (interdependence sovereignty). The last of the three points associated with such historical events as the Ten–Day War started in the former Yugoslavia on June, 27 1991 between the Yugoslav army and the Slovenian Territorial defence, ending on July 7 with Slovenia's decisive victory and Slovenia gained independent. In the Brioni Agreement signed by both parties, Slovenia agreed to postpone its independence for three months and the Yugoslavian military was allowed to leave Slovenian territory in stages, with a deadline of the end of October. The last Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) soldier was withdrawn from the territory of present–day Slovenia on October, 25 1991. The importance of these events was highlighted by the Slovenian parliament in 2015 when 25 October was declared Sovereignty Day in remembrance of that day in 1991 [23]. It was noted the new holiday would be celebrated as day of pride, unity and confidence in memory of what preserved the nation through centuries. Hence, there are three Slovenian national holidays which marker the formation of national identity: «Independence and Unity Day» – «Statehood Day» – «Sovereignty Day».

It is worth mentioning that the factor of «foreign power» plays central role in understanding of independence. The comparative analysis of the impact of this factor on the state building discovered that the negative external factor for Slovenia ended in 1991 with the disappearance of Yugoslavia. Since no country questions the Slovenian's right to independent existence. As for Ukraine, the external factor is more negative and dramatic. After the Soviet collapse, Russia, proclaiming itself the legal successor of the USSR, formally recognized the sovereignty and independence of Ukraine, but didn't let from the orbit of its influence. Now we are witnessing Russian military intervention in Ukraine since 2014 to the present time. The defense of independence became a serious matter for Ukraine.

Therefore, it was not an accident, that a new Ukrainian national holiday was founded in 2014 – «Defender of Ukraine Day» (literally «*День захисника України*») on the decree the President of Ukraine, approved by the Ukrainian parliament



in 2015. The holiday is intended to honor the courage and heroism of the defenders of the independence and territorial integrity of Ukraine, military traditions and achievements of the Ukrainian people, promote further strengthening of patriotic spirit in the community and in support of public initiatives. National defense became importer for Ukrainians; this national holiday is as significant as the Independence Day.

Since then in the Ukrainian historical tradition October 14 is the date of honoring the Ukrainian army. This holiday has been celebrated by Ukrainians since the 12th century. The holiday was especially popular among Ukrainian Cossacks, who celebrated it since at least the 17th century as they believed the Mother of God (also known as Theotokos) to be their patroness. Rather than making an effort to adopt some Cossack traditions the Ukrainian Insurgent Army chose the day of the Pokrova Day to be the official day of its establishment.

The establishment of this national holiday demonstrated a challenge for Ukraine interdependence sovereignty and at the same time broke mental relationship with the Soviet past. The President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko canceled the decree of the President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma issued in 1999, regarding the holiday «The Defender of the Motherland Day», which had its origin in the Soviet Union and was celebrated annually on February 23 in all Soviet republics including Russian Federation. Ukraine deliberately excluded from its calendar the holiday artificially introduced by Russian occupier army. Taking into account the hybrid nature of the war in the east of Ukraine, the Day of the Defender of Ukraine is celebrated in the broadest sense. The defenders of Ukraine is celebrated not only by the military, but by all citizens whose professional and social activities provide economic, humanitarian, educational and informational protection of the state. Volunteer movements which many Ukrainian joined both within our country and abroad have been developing rapidly.

Consequently, the calendar of national holidays Slovenia and Ukraine contains the triad holidays that mark the system of the system of memorable events of sovereign states' nation-building. Considering the fact that commemoration of national holidays has an effect at forming of historical memory and national identity of citizens, it should be noted that in contrast to the Ukrainian, Slovenian national calendar has other important commemorative dates. In particular, Slovenian national holidays about the territorial integrity are:

- «Prekmurje Reunification Day» (17 August), merging of Prekmurje Slovenians with the rest of Slovenia after World War I. The anniversary marks the day when Slovenia's north-easternmost region came under the authority of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as part of the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty. The people of Prekmurje united with the other Slovenians after being a part of Hungary for 900 years, while nearly the entire Slovenian territory was a part of the Austrian monarchy.

- «Primorsko Reunification Day» (15 September), the region once again became a part of Slovenia in 1947. A large part of Primorsko was ceded by Italy to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia under the Paris Peace Treaty.

- «Rudolf Maister Day» (23 November), honoring the general who established Slovenia's northern border in 1918.

These three national days were declared in 2004–2005, and confirmed a national strategy to strengthen the memorable events that were extremely important for Slovenes in terms of their territorial integrity.

In the Ukrainian state holiday's calendar, approved by the Parliament, in addition to the three above-mentioned state building dates, there are not those that would have increased the national memory. However, it should be noted that such attempts were at the level of the President decrees. Among them, there is the Ukraine Reunion Day (*День Соборності України*), approved in 1999, given the great political and historical significance of the reunification Ukrainian People's Republic and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic to a united Ukrainian state (January, 22 1919). Speaking about this day, it is also mentioned that the idea of reunion originates from the association of Rus ancient lands around Kyiv. Over centuries, practical implementation of the Reunion engaged Ukrainian Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Mazepa, Peter Doroshenko, Philip Orlik. In XVIII – early XX century, when the Ukrainian lands were divided between the neighboring countries: Poland, Muscovy, Romania, Austria–Hungary, this idea is reflected in the works of the best Ukrainian thinkers, because fighting for their national interests of Ukraine was extremely important for the territorial unity. In today's times of Russian aggression against Ukraine, and the occupation of the Crimea, parts of Donetsk and Lugansk regions, this Day has become the one of the most important holidays for Ukrainians.

In addition, there are several Ukrainian holidays decreed by Presidents and focused to consolidating the state potential for nation:

- Day of the National Flag (23 August) established in 2004,

- Day of dignity and freedom (21 November) celebrated since 2014 in honor of the two revolutions: the Orange Revolution (2004) and Revolution of Dignity (2013). Freedom Day was celebrated on November 22 after the Orange Revolution in 2005–2011 until it was abolished by decree of the President Viktor Yanukovych.

It is generally known that successful democracies developed political capacities by nurturing active citizenship, maintaining electoral competitiveness. In this context «The Day of dignity and freedom» has a big potential for the national building and is intended to instill the ideals of freedom and democracy. This holiday aims to issuance of commemorate patriotism of citizens who fell in 2004 and November 2013 – February 2014 stood in defense of democratic values, rights and freedom of men and citizen, national interests of our country and its European choice.

Also the status of the state holiday should be given to those correlated with the historical-cultural traditions of the people. In Slovenia, on the one hand, there are religious holidays: Easter, Reformation Day, Christmas; on the other – cultural:

- Prešeren Day, the Slovenian cultural festival (8 February). It marks the anniversary of the death of the national poet France Prešeren, and is the celebration of the Slovenian culture [9]. It established in 1945 to raise the cultural consciousness and the self-confidence of the Slovenian nation, and declared a day off in 1991. On the eve of the holiday, the Prešeren Awards and the Prešeren Fund Awards, the highest Slovenian recognitions for cultural achievements are conferred.

- Primož Trubar Day (8 June), established in 2010 in honor the Protestant reformer, most known as the author of the first Slovene language printed book.

- Reformation Day (31 October), established in 1992, is a religious holiday celebrated among various Protestants.

Slovenia celebrates it as well due to the profound contribution of the Reformation to that nation's cultural development, although Slovenians are mainly Roman Catholics. On this day the birth of the Slovenian language is celebrated [20, p. 10]. Slovenian Reformation brought the first book and the literary language, and the first mentioning of the concept of Slovenian. It is the literary language, that later became a critical instrument in shaping the Slovenian national consciousness.

It is interesting that Slovenian cultural national holidays have higher level of support among citizens. It is noted Slovenia became the independent state through «cultural syndrome» [7, p. 392–394]: «...the thousand-year substitution of culture for state-formation has led to the introduction of the phrase «Slovene cultural syndrome» [13]. Cultural creativity and the preservation of linguistic traditions replaced political and military strength as the decisive factors in forming our national identity... the central figures of Slovene history are not kings, but poets, composers, priests» [7, p. 11].

In Ukraine there are national holiday «Day of Ukrainian Writing and Language» (9 November), established by Presidential decree in 1997, in the day of commemorating the chronicler Reverend Nestor who was a follower of the creators of the Slavic alphabet Cyril and Methodius. This decree draws attention to the role Ukrainian language in the consolidation of society, the history of Ukrainian book. Over the past centuries of colonial history, Ukrainian people are accustomed to the alleged attitude to their language as a «secondary» one [2, c. 231], carefully concealing a huge array of Ukrainian literature, history and culture. Despite the fact that the Ukrainian language has the state status, the problem of its widespread use remains. Understanding the importance of the cultural factor for the nation building and taking into account the formation of the Slovenian national holiday's calendar it can be argued that Ukraine should not be limited to one cultural national day.

**Conclusions.** Summarizing the foregoing, the following conclusions are offered that both Ukraine and Slovenia:

- have many broad points in the forming semantic spaces of the «Independence Day» through «civic-democratic» and «national-liberation» discourses that refer to commemoration of gaining sovereignty and independence in 1990–1991;
- marked their national holidays' calendars within the concept «unity», based on the significant events in their history. The feature of the Ukrainian way of formation of the state holidays' calendar is the inclusion of historical events not only of pre-state period, but also of contemporary history such as revolutions in 2004, 2013–2014.
- have reassessed values of several historical events giving them the status of public holidays («Sovereignty Day» in Slovenia, «Defender of Ukraine Day» in Ukraine) after twenty five years of the nation building, in 2015:

Ukrainian holidays partially contained a binary memory such as neutral renaming «Soviet Army Day» «Defender of the Fatherland Day», which had the same meaning, as indicating the attempt to preserve the Soviet discourse. There are differences in levels of representation the national identity in the Slovenian and Ukrainian state holidays' calendars. It can be explained by the frameworks of the «memory systems» (political, cultural). In the Slovenian calendar, there is much more memory about the national identity than in the Ukrainian one. Insufficient level of representation of holidays (three from eleven), which have the national identity's ideological basis in the Ukrainian calendar is also to be noted.

This study was carried out as a part of the INFINITY project supported by Erasmus Mundus program of the EU. Cultural-historical investigation of Ukrainian nation holidays in comparison to similar Slovenian state holidays needs further research. **The perspectives of further studies** will be connected with analyzing cultural context of semantic spaces of the two nations to discover important aspects that significantly influenced the state-building and national-building.

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